1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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When we have finished singing this song the Ku'rahus takes one of the plum-tree sticks, which has been anointed with red clay mixed with fat, and ties on it with a thread of sinew a downy eagle feather. This stick is bound to the ear of corn so as to project a hand's breadth above the tip end, letting the downy feather wave above Mother Corn. This feather represents Tira'wa. It is always moving as if breathing.

The Ku'rahus then binds the other plum-tree stick to the corn so that it extends below the butt. When the corn is placed in ceremonial position this end of the stick is thrust in the ground so that the ear will stand upright without touching the earth. Both sticks are bound to the ear of corn by a braided band of hair taken from the head of a buffalo. The braided band signifies the gift of animal food and the provision of skin clothing. (The Skidi band of the Pawnees tie a bit of buffalo wool, such as is shed by the animal in the spring, together with a braid of sweet grass, to the ear of corn.)

The two gourd rattles, which represent the squash given us by Tira'wa, and also the breasts of the mother, are each painted with a blue circle about the middle, with four equidistant lines from the circle to the bottom of the gourd. The circle represents the wall or boundary of the dome of the sky; the four lines are for the four paths at the four directions down which the powers descend. No song is sung while this painting is being done.

All the sacred articles are laid at rest on a wildcat skin when they are not being used ceremonially, and it is a cover for them in which they are all wrapped together at the close of the ceremony. The skin is never tanned, and the ears of the animal, the skin of the head, the feet, and the claws must all be intact.

Tira'wa made the wildcat to live in the forest. He has much skill and ingenuity. The wildcat shows us that we must think, we must use tact, and be shrewd when we set out to do anything. If we wish to approach a person we should not do it bluntly; we should not rush at him; that might offend him so that he would not receive us or the gifts we desired to offer him. The wildcat does not make enemies by rush action. He is observant, quiet, and tactful, and he always gains his end.

In this ceremony we are to carry the sacred articles to one not of our kindred in order to bind him to us by a sacred and strong tie; we are to ask for him many good gifts, long life, health, and children, and we should receive gifts from him in return. If we would succeed we must learn of the wildcat, and be wise as he is wise.

The wildcat is one of the sacred animals. A man who killed a wildcat could sacrifice it to Tira'wahut. The man who brought such an offering had the right to ask the priest to teach him some of the mysteries that belong to the sacred shrine.

Many years ago two men took the Hako to the Omaha tribe. On the journey one of them killed a wildcat. I said to the man: "I am

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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782 glad Mother Corn is here leading us, and the wildcat goes with the Hako." But the man who killed it said: "No, this skin will not go
●794 with the Hako! I am going to take it to the priest for sacrifice that
825 I may learn some of the mysteries." But he did wrong and suffered for it, because that wildcat belonged with the Hako, for it was killed while we were being led by Mother Corn.

*796 The sacred articles having been completed are now laid at ceremonial rest. The wildcat skin is spread upon the earth in the holy place, which is in the west part of the lodge opposite the entrance, a little way back from the fireplace. The head of the skin is placed toward the east; the crotched plum-tree stick is thrust into the ground close to the head; the two feathered stems are laid in the crotch, the brown-eagle stem first, then the white-eagle stem on the top or outside. The eagle builds its nest in the crotch of a tree, so these eagle-feathered stems are laid in the crotch of the plum-tree stick. The ends which are thrust through the duck's head rest upon the wildcat, and under the wing-like pendants the gourd rattles are placed. Directly in front of the crotched stick stands Mother Corn.

PART IV. OFFERING OF SMOKE

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 The time has now come for the offering of smoke to Tira'wa.

793 The priest of the Rain shrine must be present with the pipe belonging to that shrine and he must conduct the ceremony. After he has
782 filled the pipe with native tobacco the Ku'rahus tells the people that the time has come to offer smoke to Tira'wa, the father and the giver of all things. He selects from the company a man to act as pipe bearer during the ceremony of offering smoke. The pipe bearer must be one who has made sacrifices at the sacred tents where the shrines are kept and has been annointed, and who in consequence has been prospered in his undertakings. The prayers of such a man are thought to be more acceptable to the powers than those of a man who has never made sacrifices.

276 In old times men did not smoke for pleasure as they do now, but only in religious ceremonies. The white people have taught the Pawnees to profane the use of tobacco.

778 Each of the sacred shrines of the tribe has a pipe, and its priest
793 knows the proper order in which the pipe should be offered to Tira'wahut. I am not a priest, so I do not know the order in which the Rain pipe is offered, nor can I tell you the ceremony; the knowledge of that belongs to its priest and not to me.

*796 Up to this point (the conclusion of the ceremony of smoking) all the people present have been obliged to remain quiet in their places; now they are at liberty to move about or to leave the lodge.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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we	*rịhi*	*irasi·ra*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatu·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind / spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki[x]. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

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When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

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Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

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[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
●794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing
[787] until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get
up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the
other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanc-
tions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and
of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects
of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the
South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies.
It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the
sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like
people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all
come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly
see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are
all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high
wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away.
Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons,
James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the
wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they
don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's
church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and
crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when
the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing
here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after
they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here.
The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the
white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our
mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here
with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All
the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone
they all went home.

One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all
[788] the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he
ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

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west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games. [622]

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took
177 a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or
794 trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the
796 dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to [625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. [783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in [786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at
668 the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing,
794 he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

[1] Murie op. cit.
[2] Murie, p. 635.
[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be; that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.
[2] Informant's narrative.

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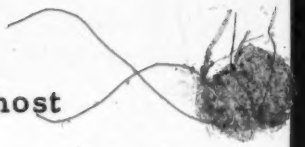

[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. [177] According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

276 594 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

with Christ. Under this new leadership the membership increased. The Oto carried the ceremony to the Omaha. Among the Pawnee the cult is found chiefly among the Pítahauírata where this new form originated; later, it found a following among the Chauí and then among the Kit'kaháxki with a few scattering adherents among the Skidí. 276 794

Naturally, this new leader introduced some original features. A special form of painted tipi was used, somewhat like that for the ghost dance. Certain changes were made in the rattle and the form of the drum. There is also an elaborate altar and the circle is divided into the usual north and south sides. 276 794 796

Among the special ceremonies is one for the water bearer. At midnight one is sent to get water from the stream. As he is under the influence of the drug he may fall into the water and drown, so special songs are sung during his absence to guard him. When he enters with the pail, it is purified in a cedar smudge, an offering made and then passed for drinking.

At dawn as the sun appears, the ritual is interrupted long enough to sing a special set of songs. While this is going on, the door curtain is raised so that the first rays of the sun may strike the altar. At the close of this special ceremony the ritual is resumed where left off.

The last songs of the ritual refer to Christ. The final song is repeated five times after which each member in turn prays to God.

A woman then enters with water, parched corn, and candy. She and the food are purified in a cedar smudge, then she retires. First the water is passed, then the corn, and finally the candy, circulating in this order until all is consumed.

The members now sit in their places and talk over their experiences. The objects used in the ceremony are gathered up and put away. The leader closes the meeting at noon with a lecture, or sermon, on ethical matters, speaking especially against the use of alcohol. Some Pawnee leaders refuse membership to all using alcoholic drinks.

At noon the members are invited out to dine by some leading man. When seated the leader takes up a pitcher of water and prays to God. Then he fills a glass and taking a sip passes it around the circle in true church fashion. Then they eat without ceremony.

After the meal the members again assemble in the peyote tipi, but this is an informal gathering where they discuss freely their faith and practise singing such songs as desired.

In the evening they depart. As each one leaves, he stands by the fireplace, holds aloft his hand and prays aloud. Then he shakes hands around the circle, pauses at the door to hold up his hand and perform certain other symbolic gestures, then passes out. So with all in turn, the leader being the last to go.

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276 The peyote tipi is dismantled the next day and the camp broken.

●794 It may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to
796 have his revelations during the ghost dance excitement. One of his individual doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore.

The One Horn Dance.

178 Among the Skidí there is a modernized form of the one horn dance (p.
796 623) organized about 1893. It took its form from the dreams of a woman. The man who spoke to her in the dream ran away as a buffalo. She went out at sunrise and saw a ring come down from the sun. Little by little she dreamed the songs and taught her husband. Finally, an eagle came to her in a dream and she was ordered to get an eagle. This she did. Again she dreamed of a crooked crow-feathered stick, this was made. Then a drum was made.

The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one horn dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman.

14: Weltfish

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[For information on animal cults in association with the various Pawnee "doctor's associations," see category 756.]

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551 The personal name was an act of self-recognition for a goal one had set oneself and achieved. One sponsored a special ceremony by making a donation of food to the priests, and in the course of the ceremony one's new name was publicly announced. But the substance of the name was strictly private and reserved to oneself. The name was cited only on the most formal occasions and from the name itself it was not possible to deduce its private significance. A person who had achieved such a name could lovingly bestow it on a son or a daughter in a ritual, or a son might give his name to his mother and then set out to earn a new and still more important one. Each of the people in the household of Old Bull and Victory Call had such a name, and while we cannot reconstruct the esoteric circumstances, a few facts about their lives gives a sense of their significance.

551 622 159 Victory Call was known for short as *Riwahut*, but his full name was *Siti-riwahut*, meaning "they are making the high trilling sound for victory." This sound was made by the women as the victorious warrior returned to the village. Publicly and socially Victory Call had made an important place for himself in the tribe. He was a younger son of a prominent Skidi chief of Old Village, Chief Big Eagle. His older brother Sitting Hawk (*Pia-tiwitit*, "hawk-he-sits-down") held the senior position in the family and occupied the family seat in the chiefs' council. As a cadet member of the family, Victory Call had to earn his social position in the community, and he had succeeded very well. People in the community said of him that he had almost surpassed his older brother by his achievements. Through his prowess in war and hunting, he had been able to entertain the chiefs and influential men at a number of formal banquets, and he had given them gifts of horses. In recognition of his deeds he was accorded one of the vacant seats in the chiefs' council, where he now sat regularly and had a voice in all administrative decisions for the band and tribe. He played the role of chief very well. He was considerate of people and concerned for their welfare. He was known to have entertained old people from time to time and to treat them with consideration and generosity. At one time when he had had a successful deer hunt, he sent Horse Rider to invite a number of old people, and when they were seated around the lodge he personally served them the deer meat and made sure that each had a generous portion. After the meal, as was customary, the guests began to talk and one old man expressed the sentiments of all when he said, "We thank you for having us here for dinner today. It is my wish to you that you will live to see your grandchildren grow up and do you honor, and that your great grandchildren will play about your feet." This was not to be, but perhaps he has gained a different kind of immortality through his son Otter and through the stories he told of their life.

159 575 794 The most creative and socially significant achievement of Victory Call

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was in the field of religion. It was he who built up the cult of the Deer Dance (*Raris-ta*, "dance-deer"). Taking it over from his predecessor who had obtained it by studying among the Wichita to the south, Victory Call was largely responsible for its reorganization into the Pawnee religious style and for the wide popularity it enjoyed at that time. He had built it up to such a degree that it posed a serious challenge to the monopoly of the long-established Doctor Association, where heretofore all the medicine cults had been organized. The association was under the leadership of Big Doctor and Sitting Hawk; Victory Call's older brother had a prominent place in it as leader of the Bear Cult. The rivalry between Big Doctor and Victory Call was bitter as some young men began to move over from the association to join the Deer Dance. In his dying moments in the 1860's, Victory Call saw a vision of Big Doctor upon whose sorcery he blamed his sickness and his death. The cult lasted under new leadership for a while, but after the tribe got to Oklahoma in 1876, its popularity continued to decline, while the Doctor Association maintained its vigor some time longer. Victory Call was also a skilled rattlesnake doctor and he was able to make a trade with his brother Sitting Hawk for knowledge of the Bear Cult in return for Rattlesnake knowledge. Victory Call's retainer, Horse Rider, had come to serve him in his household in the hope that Victory Call might give him a place in the Deer Dance and perhaps share other cult knowledge with him.

Victory Call had a friend, Chief's Road (*raru-hatur-risaru*, "the one that is-road-chief"), whose name implied that he was going on the road which he hoped would lead to chieftainship. Chief's Road had no hereditary social status, but he was ambitious for administrative advancement. He hoped that if Victory Call gained first place in the chiefs' council, he would appoint him his official brave. This was possible as when a chief retired or died, the new chief did not carry over the former incumbent, but appointed his own brave to assist him. Chief's Road was an excellent arrowshaft maker and supplied Victory Call with all his needs. On the other hand, he was not too good at acquiring horses, and Victory Call often helped him out by giving him some of their wood and other household needs that were more easily acquired when one had horses for transportation. He had built his house immediately adjoining Victory Call's lodge, and there were generally friendly relations between the two households; their children played together.

As a provider for his family, Victory Call was an accomplished hunter, both of individual big game and as a leading member of the tribal buffalo hunt. He also managed to make some extra cash by trapping beaver. He had some income from gifts he received for his religious activities and he maintained a modest herd of four or five horses. He was a good and able husband and father, inclined at times to be somewhat solemn and a little pompous, though not overbearing. He was about sixty years old at the

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796 431 756 • 794 forty parfleches had been pledged. After the pledges were counted, the word went from tent to tent and everyone was full of anticipation of the color and excitement of the ceremony. In addition to this big medical association there were a number of private cults that the people generally took an interest in.

61

THE COUNCIL TENT

Ceremonial Observances of the Hunt—the Meat Is Delivered—a More Informal Procedure Than the Summer Hunt—Police Chosen—Four Official Scouts Chosen Also—the Hunt

*224 778 [625] EVERYONE KNEW THAT the council tent would be set up at Turkey Creek while the men were out attacking the herd, and that that evening the special police would be appointed to take charge during the subsequent attacks. During the summer, with White Eagle in the lead, the hunt had been conducted under the religious sponsorship of his left hand bundle, whose tradition was a special form of the creation legend. The present hunt was being carried on under the auspices of the Evening Star and its sacred bundle, which was also known as Yellow Calf. Its tradition was the official creation legend of the Skidi Federation. The "keeper" of this • [794] bundle was Old Lady Lucky Leader of Pumpkin-Vine Village and she was assisted by her son, Frank Leader (also known as Dog-at-the-West), and her son-in-law, Roaming Leader. The old lady had built a particularly large tent but even then only about thirty could gather in there at a [344] time.

*224 793 As soon as the tent was set up and while the men were still off chasing the herd, the five priests came in and sat down at the west. Due west was Heavy Trophies, the head priest. To his left on the north side were Pipe Offering and Bringing Horses. To his right on the south side were Angry Horse and then Wonderful Old Bull.

*224 793 869 On this occasion, Bringing Horses was sitting as an apprentice priest. From time to time the head priest would say, "If there is anyone in this room who wants to learn, he should come closer and sit with us. It is necessary that someone should do this as we are likely to die at any time. We are old and after we die, the world will go on and on and this is the word of Heaven and should be carried on after we are gone. Anyone

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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who is willing should come and sit closer and observe and listen to the way these things should be done." This was considered a major public service and no payment was involved nor considerations of kin relationship. Bringing Horses was a brave and apparently had had a call to carry out this mission. 224* 793 869

The five priests sat smoking and talking together informally. They were old men and had traveled over this same ground many times. They knew just how far apart the rivers were and which were the quickest routes to follow. Now they were reminiscing about the past. One would say, "One summertime we camped way down there in this and this direction from here and so and so happened," for example a warpath came or some other notable event. Meanwhile Old Lady Lucky Leader was taking care of the practical affairs since the menfolks of her family were still out on the hunt. She was a vigorous old woman and a good manager. One of the men coming in early from the hunt reined in his horse outside her tent and called out, "Lady Lucky Leader, here are ribs!" throwing down the ribs as his contribution to the forthcoming council meeting and riding off home to his own tent. The old lady went out and got them at once and put them inside the tent on the north side near the entrance so that they wouldn't freeze. Now she decided to get the meal under way for the council. The boy Might-Be-Chief was passing by and she called him in and asked him to get the chief's errand man Know-His-Face, who came in and, after exchanging greetings with the priests, began to roast the ribs to the northeast of the fireplace as directed by the old lady. She asked her daughter to sit down to the south and fry some bread so that the men would have something to eat as soon as they got in before the council began. 224* 793 [521] 224* 794 574 [624] [252]

Now the men could be heard coming and the meat creaking a little as it was packed on the horse since it was a bit frozen. The two men of the family knew they had better get in early and Frank Leader called out to his mother, "Atira [my mother], spread something out here for the meat." The old lady came out and put a skin spread on the snow in front of the tent and her son tethered his horse to a stake nearby. She covered the horse and put down another spread with cottonwood tops and bark on it for the horse to eat. She saved some of the cottonwood for her son-in-law's horse and he arrived soon after. As soon as the two men entered the tent they asked their mother for some water to wash their hands with, and Frank tied his quiver and bow to the southwest post while Roaming Leader tied his at the northwest. Then they sat down on either side of the entrance. The men talked about how they had killed the buffalo that day and how there had been good herds north of the river. The family had its meal of bread and ribs and then the boy Might-Be-Chief was sent around to call in the other members of the council. He also called in Horse Rider to help the errand man Know-His-Face to cook for the feast. 224* [492] [515] [264]